

226 ported by the watch in the rear seat (*yalunga malla*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tasau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito hit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disengaged the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi teta*. A bungling or inept rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi lewilewile*.

226 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tape to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid fall—down through the water, frightened the school. The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old man and was fined by this body 30 tale paddings (*mane*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tape formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old man and by them fined 1,200 tale paddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old man, the god *Malakitelangi* punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

226 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wit paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lape*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 30, then 30 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tasahole*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. These canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 The captain of the returning canoe carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *unakamanga*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*konote*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose heads were stolen from their pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the reef or sea were believed to be taken by fish to the undersea house of the god *Totaka* and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

292 were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo 763 C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338). 178

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both make might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them. 285 197 178

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*le kufaga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of his pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*lango tolu* or *lango uo*). 285 292 The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *his*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *wole owoi* (*walei wole*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment: 828 787

539
Walewale hi le le kufaga
Tuputupa i Yiva angoti
Yauga uia walewalewale

Clothed in the *le kufaga*
Made as in Yiva (legendary land)
certainly,
Beaded its fringe.

292 Informants said that a Polynesian man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *le kufaga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *le kufaga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Polynesian acquired European garments. 177

292 Corresponding to the *le kufaga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.